

include enforceable protections for workers or for the environment.

CEOs of multinational corporations tell us that globalization stimulates development and allows nations to improve their environmental and labor record. The truth is, flawed trade agreements cost American jobs, put downward pressure on U.S. wages and working conditions, and erode the ability of government to protect public health and to protect the environment. If we fail to include these important provisions and trade agreements, multinational corporations will continue to dismiss labor and environmental protection as discretionary and wholly unnecessary. Global working conditions, global living conditions will continue to suffer.

We need to press for U.S. trade policy with provisions that protect American workers. We need to press for a U.S. trade policy with provisions that protect the American environment. We have experienced an economic slowdown, a drop in the stock market. Fast Track will not solve that problem, it will only make it worse.

ISRAEL MUST DEFEND ITSELF

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CULBERSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, at a profoundly troubling time in the Middle East, I want to express very strongly my complete support for the right of the government of Israel to defend itself, its existence as a Nation, and its people from the systematic campaign of mass murder that is being inflicted on it. Americans should understand that if we take into account the populations of the two countries, the number of victims of blatant terrorism against unarmed civilians in Israel exceeds in the past few months the number of tragic deaths suffered here in America, and the Israeli government has every right to respond in a way that protects its people.

I say that, Mr. Speaker, as one who was a strong supporter of the peace process that President Clinton encouraged the parties in the Middle East to undertake. I thought that Prime Minister Barak, former Prime Minister Barak, took very creditworthy risks on behalf of peace. I defend the right of the Israeli government to support itself, not because peace is an irrelevancy, but because peace cannot come in an atmosphere of terror. In fact, we should be very clear that the recent terrible, tragic increase in the deaths of innocent people was brought about, in part, by people who are threatened by peace, who do not want to see coexistence of an Israeli and Palestinian State. It is not an accident that as the Bush administration repudiated its past mistake of staying out of the Middle East peace process in

their effort to repudiate everything that President Clinton had done, it is not a coincidence that the terror stepped up after the Bush administration sought to increase peace efforts.

The mistake, however, would be to say that the terrorism should be allowed to have an impact. People who argue that the way to end and respond to terrorism in the short run is in some ways to move towards the policies advocated by the terrorists make an error.

I am in favor of some change in Israeli policy. I think that the expansion of settlements is a grave error. I think the Mitchell Commission was right on that point. I think there ought to be movement towards peace. But if that movement is seen to have come as a result of mass murder, it gives an encouragement to the policy of murder.

The second question that has to be addressed here is, can Yasser Arafat in fact put an end to this. People have said well, in defense of Arafat, even if he wanted to put an end to this terror, he could not do it. Those who make that argument, and I am skeptical that anyone really knows the answer, but those who make that argument should be very clear: That is an attack on the peace process. If in fact Arafat confronts a population so imbued with hatred for Israel, so opposed to the notion of a genuine peace that could be acceptable to both sides, that he is powerless to put an end to this systematic murder campaign, then the prospects for peace are very bleak indeed.

I hope that is not the case. I think the Israeli government, with the encouragement and support of the U.S. Government should continue to probe. But we should be very clear that the so-called defense of Arafat, namely that bringing about an end to the terror and bringing about a genuine commitment to peace is beyond his capacity or the capacity of any other Palestinian leader is, in fact, a repudiation of the peace process. And in any case, whether that bleak prospect is what faces us or not, no one can deny the right of the democratically elected government of Israel to defend its people against a systematic campaign of mass murder, and no government should be asked to divert its attention from that most fundamental task of a government, that most fundamental responsibility of government to protect its innocent and unarmed citizens from systematic murder; no one should be diverted from that.

If, in fact, Arafat is sincere and he has the power, we will see that soon. He will genuinely cooperate in putting an end to this campaign. And if not, and if the peace process founders because of that, since no government can be expected to seriously negotiate under the threat of this sort of systematic campaign of terror, then it will be clear where the responsibility lies, and it will not be with the government of Israel.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12 of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until 2 p.m.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess until 2 p.m.

□ 1400

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. PETRI) at 2 p.m.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer:

Lord God, judge of all and savior of Your people, prepare the hearts and minds of Your servants that they may attend to Your Holy Word and be moved to reconciliation.

You alone forgive sin. From You alone comes the first movement of grace which changes human hearts. Destroy all false images and idols that all may come to know You, the one true living God.

Be with the Members of the House of Representatives on this National Day of Reconciliation as they join Members of the Senate in solemn assembly to seek the blessings of Your Divine Providence for forgiveness, reconciliation, unity and charity for all people of the United States.

As Members humble themselves in prayer before You, may Your healing Spirit touch profoundly all divided communities across this Nation. Make us one Nation, truly wise, a symbol of equal justice to the world, a responsive partner, defender of life and friend of the poor.

Renewed as Your people, forgiven of our sins, may this Nation be a sign of hope to others as You bring peace and goodwill to earth, both now and forever.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KNOLLENBERG) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. KNOLLENBERG led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

DISPENSING WITH CALL OF PRIVATE CALENDAR ON TODAY

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the